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FOREWORD

Now that the evils of Invisible Government have been so clearly set forth (page viii), the time has come to talk of many things connected with politics and government. Legal checks and balances have given way before extra-legal political control (page 1). Direct election, as a cure for "invisible government," has insured neither popular control nor efficiency of state administration (page 11). Politics as a barrier to adequate national defense has become a matter of no ordinary importance (page 31). The "pork barrel" may have lost its smell in our rivers and harbors, but the odor still exudes from pensions and public works (page 43). The tariff has so often come up as a *local issue* that we may call it a hard name, "recurrent phenomenon," and plan non-partisan tariff commissions (page 56).

Whatever the costs of partisan politics in the work of government, we who make up "the long suffering American public" will pay them—with increasing reluctance.

To Aristotle "politics" may have signified the science of government, and to more recent political scientists the term may have to do with "the expression of the will of the state"; most of us think of the product made in America. Thus we are mindful of public officers who consider their personal advantage and pocket the graft, or put corporate privilege above community welfare; we remember that Poseyville got a new post-office but that a national measure was defeated. We see political parties exalted at the expense of the public weal. We wonder if parties can exist without patronage, and if the method of financing them can be changed (page 66); we do not dissociate parties and "politics." We are depressed; what is worse, we are confused.

Throughout the movements to free government from "politics," one increasing purpose runs: to segregate and clarify issues, and to bring about a more conspicuous responsibility. Administration is to be separated out from legislation, and the necessary steps taken to make legislators responsible for their proper work (page 172). Likewise the judiciary, if our doctrine of the separation of powers can mean anything, must not appoint administrative

officers, and so far as possible must leave to a *responsible* legislature the making of laws; judges can be given a conspicuous responsibility of their own (page 184). Three air-tight departments are of course not possible or desirable, but not even the interworking of direct legislation and administration should complicate issues and responsibility. Advocates of the initiative and referendum hold that these measures will make clearer the lines of responsibility and control in both legislation and administration (page 122). The short ballot is essential to an *effective democracy* (page 168), and the executive budget is a common sense part of any clear cut plan for local, state, or national good-housekeeping (page 146). It is proposed to extend the civil service to postmasters of all classes (page 147), but not content with "shutting the rascals out" by qualifying examinations, supporters of the *merit system* plan to increase responsibility and efficiency in administration by applying sound principles of employment management (page 153).

What with the process of ridding public health and welfare administration of "politics" (page 134), the efforts to put public works and engineering services on a public service basis (page 103), and the discovery that efficiency methods have actually been successful in public business (page 89), we may be hopeful that the old order changeth. But if no other ground were afforded for a rational optimism, we could rely on the very pressure of increasing government work to make for a more effective and economical administration (page 77).

A practical guide to responsible government is offered in the principles of municipal reorganization (page 227), and a movement toward a better sort of county government is clearly discernible (page 116). Everywhere the close formations of old-time politics are being ruled out and open field play provided, so that those of us who want to be at least spectators can know what is going on. Unobscured issues and conspicuous responsibility mean the end of Invisible Government.

But even if visible, popular government were absolutely assured, our problems of "policy" would not be ended. It has been charged that we have set up "a materialistic state mechanism without a soul"; whether we have more than a penny-in-the-slot-government depends largely upon some method of training for citizenship in our schools (page 197), and upon Americanizing the

new homes in this land of opportunity (page 204). As thoughtful Americans, we cannot disregard the lesson from war-torn Europe that in our state the ideas of liberty and efficiency must be combined; we must have capable, trained officials in our government, but it must be *our* government (page 215). And finally, if we keep "in character," we shall ask where the almighty dollars are coming from to carry on the work of this government of ours (page 210).

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